2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

only the Caboccass

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[844] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
[545] not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
593 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
827 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
846 the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[824] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
462 the custom that the women prepare the food for the
252 funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
307 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
301 he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
431 remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

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each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trading, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

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from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Calabash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature, ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive housekeeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments, or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut. Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide them with food of some kind every day in the year, even when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

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616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages
264 brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two
276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 A few hours after sunrise, an *arda* appeared at the en-
264 trance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a
616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been
[252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot
[415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-
[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two
574 *mrdo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro
576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert,, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meall of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at warious bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficullty in gathering the material and getting it down to the waiter's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

B 133 487 /200 cont./ ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilderness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B *191 433 If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives. The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B [281] [252] B0 433 [252]

B 181 825 Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/454 cont./

578 Today the younger of the two wives of Moguyokuri, a large, big-boned woman who seems to scorn all clothing, suddenly burst in with coarse vituperation. She had a bunch of mandioca [252] roots in her hand and in a fury tossed them at Eliseo's feet. We had already noticed the general mandioca-roasting today in the men's house; the planting had once again been prematurely robbed of the thin root stalks. Moguyokuri's Xanthippe had apparently been unjustly accused of the theft; others had given her the mandioca. The quarrel took on ever greater proportions and lasted until evening. Two hostile parties among the women opposed each other. The loudest noise was made by "Maria," [554] Arateba"s sister, who, in general, played the most important role of all the Indian women. Maria had been Duarte's mistress, and it was rumored that he had decked her out with riding habit and feather hat; now, at any rate, she was walking about in only her national costume, a small, sturdy, nimble, and, according to our ideas, moderately attractive person with sparkling eyes..

When the squabble had reached its height inside one of the huts, it was to be fought out in a sort of wrestling match. Everybody rushed out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Amid lively talk and gestures, they placed three women on one side and Maria opposite them alone. One of the three leaped forward with a big jump, Maria towards her. They clasped each other around the waist and a wild wrestling commenced. But in a few seconds they formed the center of a thick knot of onlookers and fellow combatants, a knot which itself kept milling about in the thick of things, and with a larger, looser crowd of people along the houses; it was a mad shoving and pushing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with amusement, the women vying with each other in their howling, while the two opponents were locked in a tight embrace and clutched each other's hair. Finally they were pulled apart, but the word-wrangle began all the more violently, with several yelling at several others. One old woman in particular drowned out all the others with her shrill voice. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
●252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[179] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[179] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

●252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*xamima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*koíku*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*koíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*isko*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkyo*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (A)]